

2018

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Recommended Citation

Knetsch, Joe (2018) "Madison Starke Perry Vs. David Levy Yulee: The Fight for the Tampa Bay Route," *Sunland Tribune*: Vol. 23 , Article 4.

Available at: <http://scholarcommons.usf.edu/sunlandtribune/vol23/iss1/4>

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MADISON STARKE PERRY VS. DAVID LEVY YULEE: THE FIGHT FOR THE TAMPA BAY ROUTE

By JOE KNETSCH

Florida's history texts have not been kind to Madison Starke Perry, fourth governor of the State. Little is known about him, his letter-books have not survived and he has not been the study of any academic tome. When he has been noticed, it is for his strident call for secession or the settlement of the boundary dispute with the State of Georgia. Even in the standard versions of the *Florida Handbook*, he receives little attention for his career in the legislature or his accomplishments in other fields. Those who have taken notice of Perry have usually been writing on the careers of his political enemies, thus he often appears short-sighted, radical or a virulent "fire-eater" bent on the destruction of the Union. It is, therefore, time to take a new and more complete look into the career of Madison Starke Perry.

The only significant work done on the governor has been a brief "Chronology of the Life and Career of Madison Starke Perry..." by Donald J. Ivey, currently the curator of collections at the Pinellas Historical Museum, Heritage Park in Largo, Florida. With his able assistance, we can report on some of the findings regarding the early life of this controversial, yet neglected figure, of Florida history. He was born in the year of 1814, although the exact date has gone unrecorded. It is believed that his father, Benjamin Perry, Jr., a Revolutionary War veteran, who died before he was born, and he was reared by his mother, Mary Starke Perry, until he was sent off to the Franklin Academy in Lancaster, South

Carolina, not far from where he was born. His mother remarried, to one William Dixon, but the date is not recorded in the Perry family history and the relationship between possible step-father and son remains a matter of speculation.¹ All of the Perrys of South Carolina were strong Presbyterians and the future governor's sister, Wilmoth, who married her second cousin, John Perry, was one of the founders of the Liberty Hill Presbyterian Church.² While attending the Franklin Academy, in Lancaster County, South Carolina, he was known affectionately as "Stark". Perry appears to have been noted early as a leader, although not always for his positive attributes. Dr. J. Marion Sims, later famous as the "Father of Gynecology," tells the story of the usual school days' prank of placing a pin on the teacher's seat, in which his classmate, Madison Starke Perry, was considered the prime suspect. Perry, as the story goes, did not give in to the fierce look and "sardonic smile" of the teacher, and steadfastly maintained, "No sir, I did not; and moreover I don't know who did put it there," even though he was the last student questioned. The good doctor, somewhat shamefacedly, admits in his memoir that he was one of the guilty parties and Perry was not.³ He matriculated from the Franklin Academy and entered the College of South Carolina in 1830. There he made a name for himself while in the Euphradian Society, as a debator and orator. The Society was a student organization for the promotion of debating, literature and public speaking, and

Perry appears to have been a leader during his student days. He was also known, reports Ivey, for being "censored for improprieties on many occasions."⁴ For reasons unknown at the present time, Perry appears to have left the college in the summer of 1831.⁵ It is quite likely that he returned to his family's property in Lancaster County and became a farmer.

The next known notice of his life comes with his marriage to Martha Peay Starke, whom Ivey correctly believes was a cousin of the future governor. Five years later, their first child was born, Madison Starke Perry, Jr. Two more years pass and the Perry family decided to move to the new state of Florida, settling on land near the present town of Rochelle, in Alachua County. Within a very short time of this move, Sarah J. Perry was born in their new home and Perry becomes permanently attached to his new state.⁶

Perry's fortunes were relatively good in his new home. The 1850 Census shows that he was 37 years of age, had a wife, Martha, not Mary, and two children. Also living with the household was a lady named Mary L. Abbott, who was also from South Carolina and may have been a relative of the family. His occupation is listed as "farmer". His property was estimated to have been worth about \$1,500, which would indicate moderate wealth. Although comfortable, this does not compare with the wealth of Bennett Dell (\$20,000) or Thomas Prevatt and Henry Bauknight (each with \$10,000).⁷ Within the next decade, his fortunes were to rise to the point where his property was estimated to have been worth \$30,000 and his personal estate nearly \$36,000. He would also own, as of the 1860 Census, 33 slaves.⁸ Perry's prosperity is evident in these figures.

Arriving in Florida in 1847, Perry's political fortunes also rose rapidly, being elected to the Florida Senate in the election of 1849. What Perry stood for has been the subject of some minor debate, however, he is almost universally regarded as part of the "South Carolina school" which also include John C. McGehee and James Broome; the former the leader of the secessionist convention and the latter Florida's third governor, both of whom, like Perry, were from South Carolina. This group believed in the states' rights theories of John C. Calhoun and held it as a matter of principle that each state, as an independent member of the confederation, had the right to secede from the Union if it believed that its prerogatives and constitutional rights were being violated. They also looked to the Virginia and Kentucky Resolves as a source of their belief concerning the relationship of each individual state to the Union as a whole.⁹ When one looks at the census for Alachua and Marion counties in 1850 and 1860, one of the striking features is the large number of people from South Carolina and Georgia, who obviously held similar theories of government to Perry and Broome. Both of these counties, it should be borne in mind, outnumbered Leon and some of the other northern tier counties in white, voting population, a basic fact often overlooked by some commentators on the Florida secessionist movement.

Because of the small size of the Florida Senate, Perry served on a number of committees, including Taxation and Revenue, State of the Commonwealth, Claims and Accounts, Agriculture, Militia and Corporations. After Governor Thomas Brown presented his State of the State address, Perry moved into committee, those portions of the governor's program that were agreed upon as suitable for legislative action. His first personal actions came on

behalf of individuals who had claims against the State, and as an active member of the Claims committee, this could be expected. But the big question of this session was what to do with State lands, especially since the Federal government had passed the Swamp and Overflowed Lands Act of 1850, which promised to give title to millions of acres to the State of Florida. In a special message to the General Assembly, Governor Brown noted this act and stated his position: "The terms of the act making this grant declare, 'That the proceeds of said lands, whether from sale or direct appropriation, shall be applied exclusively, so far as necessary, to the purpose of reclaiming said lands, by means of levees and drains aforesaid.' To comply with this condition, some provision," Brown declared, "should be made for a scientific reconnoissance of these lands. Indeed, it may with truth be said that no reasonable estimation can be formed of the value of the grant, until such reconnoissance shall have been made." He thereupon made the recommendation for the appointment of a competent engineer, geologist, to be in charge of such a venture.¹⁰ With this action, Perry and his colleagues were in complete agreement.

Another question regarding lands revolved around the Atlantic and Gulf Coast Railroad venture, which was to build a railroad across the State of Florida from somewhere on the Atlantic coast to somewhere on the Gulf coast. The railroad, itself, had been chartered in the previous session of the legislature, however, in 1850, there appeared an amendment to the charter which Governor Brown thought to be dangerous. Brown noted, in his rejection letter, that the constitution of the State of Florida stated specifically, "That perpetuities and monopolies are contrary to the genius of a free State, and ought not to be allowed." The charter and the amendment thereto, then

being contemplated, directly violated this provision of the State's constitution. What also grated the Governor's sensibility was that three of the directors of the corporation were not citizens of the State of Florida, and had no interest in her people or their welfare. Also, the charter was vague on the subject of stock sales or subscriptions, which, Brown believed, needed to be regulated in the interest of the people. Finally, Brown questioned the propriety of giving so much power to so few people, and not holding them accountable.

This amendatory act, is also objectionable, in that it repeals the 9th section of the original charter, which provides that 'the stockholders shall be severally and individually liable to the amount of stock held by them respectively:' giving thereby the entire benefit of the speculation to the incorporators, should the scheme prove successful, but depriving honest citizens, who might become creditors of the company for labor or supplies, of their only chance for security, should the scheme prove a failure.¹¹

It should be noticed that in vetoing the bill, he did not say the entire project was improper, only the way in which the power and rewards were to be distributed. In light of the future differences between this railroad, and its leadership, namely David Levy Yulee, and Madison Starke Perry, it is most interesting to see that on January 3, 1851, when the Senate voted to override Brown's veto, Madison Starke Perry voting with the majority, thus re-incorporating the railroad, which soon changed its name to the Florida Railroad.¹²

On the subject of internal improvements, generally, it should be noted that during this session of the Senate, Perry did not vote against any of the major proposals, which

included the incorporation of the Wacissa and Ocilla Navigation Company, numerous plank road companies and the establishment of certain ferry boats across Florida's multitude of streams and rivers. Perry, clearly, was not opposed to the concept of State chartering or funding of internal improvements.

The most notable role played by Perry in this session was as chairman of the Committee on Taxation and Revenue. The collection of taxes on the Florida frontier had been a vexing problem since the Territorial days. The State never received all of the money that was due by law, and little could be done on the local level to procure these funds, so necessary to the functioning of the State. Perry and his committee tried valiantly to wrestle with this problem. The bill filed to correct these problems was referred to as, "An Act relating to the duties of Tax Assessors and Tax Collectors, and for other purposes," which had first passed the legislature on January 9, 1849. The committee reported its substitute for this bill on December 21, 1850. What was proposed was the specific setting of times for the assessing of the taxes, with books open to the public for inspection, the collection of these taxes, the setting of the time limits for hearings in front of the County Commissioners, in case of over-charges and insolvencies, and the time limit for the settling of accounts with the Comptroller's office and payment to the Treasurer.¹³ A further House amendment was added referring to movable property and the taxing thereof beginning at the next assessment period, which was concurred in by the Senate.¹⁴ All the work trying to get this bill in workable form failed to impress the other Senators and the bill did not become law. However, many reforms of the taxing system did pass through this committee, including acts to fix the compensation of

Tax Assessors, require the County Commissioners to examine and certify the assessments, and defining the terms of office for Tax Assessors and Collectors.¹⁵ Throughout the session, Perry did his job well, attended almost every meeting and cast his vote on almost every issue.

Perry did not serve as Senator in the next session of the legislature, convened in 1852, but he did make one appearance in Tallahassee at that session. In this case, he argued strongly, and apparently successfully, for the moving of the county seat of Alachua County from Newnansville to Gainesville. This location made the county seat more accessible to citizens of the southern part of the county, especially Micanopy, Spring Grove and other settlements.¹⁶

Madison Starke Perry next served in the Florida Senate in 1855, and filed, on the second day of the session, a bill for the draining of Orange Lake.¹⁷ This was a logical extension of the law passed in the previous session entitled, "An Act to authorize the Drainage of Alachua Savannah [Chapter 614, Laws of Florida]. Perry was a "commissioner" for the corporation which had the rights to drain this land, with the power to assess adjacent land owners up to \$35,000 to help cover the cost of such drainage. The concept was to drain the water from the Alachua Savannah through the River Styx and into Orange Lake and thence, out to the Ocklawaha via an improvement of Orange Creek. All of the land exposed by this venture was assumed to be very rich and fertile, therefore, profitable for sale or farming.¹⁸ Also tied into these "improvements" was the creation of the "Palatka and Micanopy Plank Road Company," which was also incorporated in this 1855 session. Again, Perry, along with David Levy Yulee, William D. Mosely,

Elias Bauknight, William A. Forward, and others served as one of the incorporators. The whole scheme of improvement, now takes a more definite shape. Drain the land, sell or use it, and ship the produce out on the plank road. With the power to tax and possible land grants from the State, the costs to these investors would be relatively small and the whole area would benefit from the improvements of the land and transportation.¹⁹

As in his earlier stint in the Senate, he had numerous committee assignments which included, State of the Commonwealth, Corporations, Judiciary, Federal Relations, and, again, Taxation and Revenue. One additional select committee needs mention here, because of its general importance, was Census and Apportionment. Among his other actions in this session included a petition from the president and secretary of the East Florida Seminary related to funding and the organization of the school. But, again, the most important bill in the legislature that year was the legislation that organized the Internal Improvement Trust Fund. This important board was established in January of 1855 under the "Act to provide for and encourage a liberal system of Internal Improvements in the State." This act was to be supplemented by "An Act to facilitate the construction of the various lines of Rail Roads ..." which, in essence, meant the Florida Railroad and the others established in earlier sessions. The main feature of this act was to reduce the number of miles of railroad completed from twenty to ten before the railroad could receive lands under the Internal Improvements Act. It also allowed "other competent engineers" to inspect the line for proper construction and funneled all details through the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Trust Fund, which was a revised and improved version of the old Internal Improvement Fund board which

had proved to be too unwieldy and politically controversial.²⁰ Reports on Internal Improvements, especially the attempt to allow towns along the proposed routes to subscribe stock in the new roads, were frequently filed by the busy Internal Improvements Committee. In almost every instance, Perry voted for the proposed improvements or the amendments to their charters.²¹

Senator Perry did try to have the constitution of the State amended so as to make the sessions of the legislature annual instead of biennial. After seeing this bill indefinitely postponed after the second reading, he later saw the House of Representatives fail to agree to such a proposal. Thus, his attempt to make the legislature more responsive failed to get much support.²²

Because some historians have reported that the one of the major accomplishments of Perry's governorship was the final resolution of the Florida/Georgia boundary, it would be well to recognize that this item appeared before almost every legislature from 1848 to 1860. The line was imperfectly run, which was known by nearly everyone, because of the attempt to retrace the boundary allegedly run by Andrew Ellicott in 1798-99. The first two runnings of the line, by McNeill and Watson, proved unsatisfactory when errors were discovered in their lines, leaving jogs and hiatuses in their wake. Governor Broome had selected Benjamin E Whitner, Jr. to run the said line and had placed his father, Benjamin E Whitner, Sr. in the role of Commissioner. The son received his compensation, however the father did not. In 1855, Broome asked the legislature to correct this oversight. He was not successful. However, the line was not completed at the end of the session and Whitner had to work further with Georgia's designee, Mr. Orr, to get the final line in

proper shape. Although the two States and the Federal Government were in agreement during Perry's governorship, the final settlement of the issue did not take place until 1885, when the last legal arguments were heard in front of the Supreme Court of the United States. Perry's actual role in the settlement of the issue consisted of exchanging correspondence with the Governor of Georgia and Florida's congressional delegation.²³ Although an important part of the Perry administration, it hardly ranks as one of its great accomplishments. In the 1855 Session, Perry listened to Broome's plea for just compensation for the venerable Whitner and, on December 8th, he did vote to have the Governor appoint a commissioner to work with one from Georgia to finalize the line.²⁴

As noted earlier, Perry did get his bill passed to allow the drainage of Orange Lake. This was not the only local bill that he persuaded his colleagues to agree to. He also guided through the process, resolutions relative to the aid of the "Micanopy and Pilatka Plank Road Company" whereby the Federal government was asked to give up part of the Palatka Military Reserve lands to said company. Additionally, he helped the legislature see its way clear to pass a resolution regarding the establishment of a mail route through Newriansville.²⁵ He introduced and oversaw the passage of a Senate Resolution which requested the governor to furnish arms and equipment for a volunteer unit of cavalry, under the command of Tillman Ingram, at Micanopy. Whether the governor complied with this resolution or not is not known at this time, nor is the reason for its passage at that late date.

What can be said about Madison Starke Perry's legislative career? Fundamentally, he

was a strong proponent of internal improvements, sometimes, apparently, for his own personal benefit. He tried to take care of his local constituents' needs and wants, often filing bills on their behalf. His interest in taxation and revenue put him in a position of some power relative to other senators. His attempts at reform of the laws or the constitution did not measure up to his expectations, however, in proposing them, he paved the way for later reform, especially in regards to tax collectors and tax assessors. Like most legislators in a frontier state, he had some success and some failure, but, and this is the important matter, because of his legislative career and the contacts he made or forged, he smoothed his own path to the governorship.

The machinations behind the nomination of Madison Starke Perry for the Democratic candidate for governor of Florida are unknown at this time, as little of the convention proceedings were reported in the press of the day. However, like all things political, the deals must have been made before the credentials committee reviewed each delegate's pass. What is known is simple and direct. Perry's name was put into nomination by Fred L. Villepigue, of Leon County, and opposed by M. A. Long, of Leon County and Dillon Jordan, of Escambia County. As the Tallahassee *Floridian & Journal* reported it; "After several unsuccessful ballotings under the two thirds rule, the names of Messrs Long and Jordan were withdrawn, when the Hon. MADISON STARKE PERRY received the unanimous vote of the Convention. ..." Long was made a Presidential Elector for Middle Florida and Jordan was compensated by being named a Delegate to the National Convention. On its editorial page, the *Floridian & Journal* had the following to say about its candidate:

The high characters of the nominees of the Convention are known to many, if not most of the citizens of the State. Col. Perry, the candidate presented for the gubernatorial Chair, is a native of South Carolina, residing in Florida since 1847, and is a noble specimen of the intelligent Southern planter, well informed touching the institutions and history of our government. He does not belong to that tribe of the genus homo who "watch the tide of opinion and fish at the flood," but has ever been, and ever will be honest and unflinching in his devotion to the great principles of our party; and his political friends will have reason to admire his bold and fearless advocacy of right, and a determined will to do his duty without fear, favor, or affection. In a word, he possesses all the qualifications to make an excellent administrative officer, where he shall have been placed, as he will be if he lives, in the Executive chair of Florida.²⁶

With such a ringing endorsement from most of the Democratic press of the State, Perry was on his way to the governorship.

Yet, there were many problems facing the State and nation before he made his way to Tallahassee as governor of Florida. One of the most important was the continued problem of the Indians in South Florida. By the time the convention had met, the first shots had been fired in the Third Seminole War and troops throughout the State were on the move. Many areas, including Micanopy, were holding public meetings to urge the Federal government to put an end, once and for all, to this nagging presence. On May 26, 1856, the Micanopy meeting was called and passed a number of resolutions urging the

expulsion of the Seminoles and censoring the Federal government for, "the tardy and inefficient movements of the General Government in providing the requisite means for defending our State against the evils of a savage warfare and in expelling from her borders, a race of beings who are wholly devoid of every sense of moral obligations. The residents also urged Governor Broome to enlist state troops to do what the Federal Government would not, and offered to raise a company of armed volunteers for the effort. The meeting was chaired by G. W. Means and A. W. Coog served as Secretary.²⁷ Concern was statewide and Perry must have felt the necessity of trying to bring the war to a quick conclusion.

However, it was the problems stirring in the nation that received most of the attention of Floridians and candidate Perry. Uppermost in everybody's mind was the growth of abolitionist sentiment in the North, the rising fortunes of the new Republican Party and the state of the Union should the Republican Party take power in the near future. Perry was under no illusions as to his position. As a native of South Carolina and a student of the teachings of John C. Calhoun, if the matter came to living under a "Black Republican" regime or secession, there was really no choice. The enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law, the expansion of Slavery into the new Territories, the Dred Scott Decision, all hammered home the problems of the nation seeking to find some solution short of war.

During the campaign for governor, the national issues took the lead over state or local matters. The last two weeks of July 1856 saw Perry and his Democratic Colleague, Judge George B. Hawkins, the candidate for Congress, canvass the Eastern and Southern portions of the State, picking

up valuable support. In his home county, Perry was greeted with the following resolution of the Democratic caucus: "That the democracy of Alachua County, are proud to place so able and so true a man as Madison S. Perry before the people of Florida for the office of governor." His address to the Alachua democrats returned the favor.²⁸ Yet, canvassing in the summer heat and across the notoriously poor roads of Florida took its toll on Perry and by August 16, the *Floridian & Journal* was reporting that ill health had forced the candidate to remain home and recover from his "precarious" health.²⁹ All throughout the campaign, Perry and Hawkins hit on the national issues, particularly the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the fact that the Fillmore administration had abandoned the South. Because David S. Walker, the Know-Nothing candidate for governor, allegedly contradicted the Fillmore position, yet had the onus of bearing the same party into the election in Florida, this position, according to the newspapers, was questionable. Politically it was like a dead weight upon Walker's shoulders.³⁰ David Walker also had to face charges of land speculation from his position of Register of State Lands and this, too, crippled his campaign. However, Walker's good showing, despite the odds, made it clear the Madison Starke Perry was not a land-slide winner. The final margin, as reported in Tallahassee; Perry 5,887, Walker 5,562, a narrow margin of 325.³¹

The mood of the times was well reflected in the 1857 July 4th celebration in Micanopy. The opening declaration was read by T C. Webb and the formal Oration by J. J. McDaniel and these were followed by the toasts. Dr. J. A. Stewart toasted the governor-elect, "M. S. Perry, Gov. elect of Florida: An honest and fearless patriot, he is worthy of his country's honors." J. J.

McDaniel, however, reflected on the origins of many in the audience: "South Carolina: The good old Mother State that has given so many of her enterprising sons and fair daughters to Florida, who has adopted them as her own." Jason Hemingway sounded a different note: "Southern Institutions: Let us bow down to their shrines and devoutly cherish their holy alters." Dr. Stewart, offering a second toast, stated: "The political fellowship of the South: A consummation devoutly wished for." No matter how good the mutton, the fresh fish, squashes, cucumbers, melons, etc. nor how well the Micanopy band played that day could cover the political feelings of the party goers while they sat down at their 200 foot long table.³²

As the Indian war wore down in Southern Florida, the news elsewhere was not as good. One of the main reasons for this was the conflict that now arose between two former friends and political allies, Madison Starke Perry and Senator David Levy Yulee. The cause of the disagreement was the route of the Florida Railroad, of which Yulee was the president. Yulee, after acquiring most of old Fernandina and land around Cedar Key, decided to construct the line straight between those two points, instead of building it from Fernandina to Tampa, as originally contemplated, with a "branch" to Cedar Key. Yulee's reasoning for this move was that this was the more direct for mail, transshipment of goods and it went through some of the best cotton lands in the state, whereas Tampa, although recognized as a superior port, was less direct, the route required numerous bridges and trestles, and the land along it was less desirable than that of the Cedar Key route. However, Perry felt quite differently about this decision. For his part, he saw the new route as a betrayal of promises to the leaders of Middle Florida and Tampa. The act had specifically stipulated that the line would run from

Fernandina to Tampa, hopefully through the major settlements of Middle Florida, i.e. Micanopy, Ocala, and Gainesville. Personally, it meant possible financial ruin for the schemes of developing the area around Orange Lake, Ocala, and the draining of the Alachua Savannah, and the creation of the plank road company, for which he had worked so hard, pushing them through the legislature and creating interest among investors.³³

Yulee and Perry had been close political allies until the break. Perry had helped to fight against the rise of the power of the Know-Nothings and had written to Yulee, on August 11, 1856, urging him to come south to canvass the State to put a stop to, "Westcott and some others whom you would not suspect."³⁴ Ten days later, Perry wrote to Joseph Finegan, the contractor for the railroad, that he was returning the "Articles of Incorporation" but could not send in his subscription at that time because of a recent land purchase and low cotton prices. He also promised Finegan that there would be a good turn out for Maxwell in Micanopy and that Governor James Broome would stump the State for the regular ticket. Perry also noted that he hoped that Yulee would, "put shoulder to the wheel *with us*," in defeating the opposition. Finally, with an eye toward the "Impending crisis", he informed the future general that he hoped to, "have a *working majority* of States Rights men in the Legislature."³⁵ As if to over-emphasize the point, as late as December 9, 1856, Perry was giving Yulee the inside information as to the results of the Democratic Caucus for U. S. Senator, in which Stephen Mallory defeated William W. Loring by a 20 to 18 vote.³⁶ Earlier correspondence found in the Yulee Papers indicates a social relationship between the two politicians, wherein Perry is found sending a basket of home-grown peaches to

Mrs. Yulee and wishing for her continued good health. All of these evidences of friendship and political alliance fell by the way when it came to the power of the newly elected governor verses the might of the U. S. Senator and President of the Florida Railroad.

The main issue given as the cause of the break was the route of the Florida Railroad from Fernandina to Cedar Key. Yulee had long considered the latter port as the most likely route for the railroad, with an extension to Tampa at a later date. As early as August 22, 1849, he had written the Surveyor General asking for the distances and surveys between the St. Marys River and "Way Key on the Gulph of Mexico, in a direct line."³⁷ The Senator had engineered the passage of an act to survey for a route across the State of Florida for a possible canal, although this was simply a cover for the railroad route. He had even gone to the expense of hiring the same engineer away from the Topographical Engineers, M. L. Smith, to do the work of expanding on the route and sounding the harbor at Cedar Key. All of this preliminary work was done between 1853 and the publication of the Smith report in 1855.³⁸

It is clear that, by 1854, Cedar Key was the primary Gulf Coast terminus for the railroad, with Tampa as the secondary port. One of the primary reasons for this decision was the potential connection with the upper Gulf ports, such as Mobile and New Orleans. This connection would also bring, as Yulee well knew, a lucrative mail contract which would help pay for the expenses of constructing the road and be a continuing source of income for many years to come. Also, the route was relatively well-known from the engineering standpoint and was the most direct route possible to an established port. Tampa, on the other

hand, would require, by its more "remote" location, a much more elaborate survey and present many more engineering difficulties.

The concept of going direct to Cedar Key was not lost on Yulee's supporters, including Tampa's Jesse Carter. Carter had expressed concern for the Tampa-first idea and had hoped he had secured Yulee's assurances that this would come to fruition. When it became apparent that the Florida Railroad was not going to come to Tampa first, a near revolt among Tampa Democrats hit the pages of the newspapers. Carter's friendship with Yulee and his political support of Yulee's candidacy for the U. S. Senate, based upon what he conceived of as promises by Yulee to support the Tampa-first proposal, became an embarrassment for the popular General. By the middle of 1859, Carter felt forced to publish some of the 1854 correspondence between himself and members of the Board of Directors for the Florida Railroad, including Yulee. Each of these letters contain hedges concerning the planned route, but all mention Tampa as the primary point of concern. Indeed, the chief rival to Tampa, if one reads each published piece carefully, was not Cedar Key, but Charlotte Harbor. However, anticipating the storm over the "trunk" verses the "branch" that was to be the heart of most of the arguments against the railroad's decision to go first through to Cedar Key, Yulee noted: "The difference between a branch and a road is the difference between tweedle dee and tweedle dum. I would as soon have one part of the road called a branch as the other." Either the Tampa, Charlotte Harbor or Cedar Key route, apparently, would have suited the directors of the line. One point becomes crystal clear in almost every letter, if the local governments (city or county) would offer certain inducements, in addition to the State and Federal grants, the line's route

would be influenced by the amount and type of such favors.³⁹ This was not to be a privately financed venture.

The question concerning the routes available to the line was of paramount importance to each community. The charter of the company initially read from a port on the Atlantic to a point on the Gulf, with no specification. Political reality forced the issue with the passage of the Internal Improvements Act of 1855, which specifically stated that Tampa would be that point. Yulee, writing to Governor James Broome, the chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Internal Improvement Trust Fund (hereafter Trustees), accepted the new provision in a cautiously worded manner: "I beg leave to say that they [the board of directors] propose to construct a road from Amelia Island in the direction of Tampa as far as a point proper for divergence to Cedar Key, and from said diverging point to Cedar Key by way of extension, and that if the amendment to the Charter of the Company now pending in the General Assembly is granted, they will also construct the balance of the road from the diverging point to Tampa."⁴⁰ Local pressure in Tampa, however, did not accept the Senator's agreement and forced a frustrated response from him.

Gentlemen. Doubts having been expressed as to the sufficiency of the notices heretofore given, and as the efficacy of the terms of the first sect. of the act of Decr. 1855 amending the charter of the Fla. R.R. Co., in placing the part of the route between Cedar Key and Tampa junction, within the provisions of the Internal Improvement Act without any special notice, I do hereby and now, to put at rest any future doubts, formally notify the trustees of the

full acceptance by the Florida Railroad Company of the provisions of the act of January 6, 1855 entitled "An act to provide for and encourage a liberal system of Internal Improvement" for that part of the route designated in their amended charter, which lies between Tampa & the point of junction with the Cedar Key extension, or in other words for all that part of the route covered by their charter, which may not be regarded by the Trustees to be included in the effect of the notice filed by them of the date March 6, 1855.⁴¹

Yulee, even invited the editor of the *Peninsular* to meet with him to discuss the actions of the company noting, "It being our Interest & desire to see a road built through to Tampa, which your people also desire."⁴² Of course, this did not end the debate in public or private. Throughout the period 1856 to 1859, the debate raged on in the papers of the State, particularly after Governor Perry refused to sign the bonds promised the company for completion of specified amounts of work.

Early on, the debate in the papers and the meetings held in various localities had been dismissed as local political talk. In May of 1855, Yulee wrote to Finegan: "Don't be concerned at the Tampa movement. It is a *Know Nothing* concern. It may effervesce still further, & spread to other counties. So much the better...at the right moment we will go before them. Being confident of Right. We need have no fears. The further they go the better. Meanwhile the News could be spreading good thoughts."⁴³ But the agitation against the railroad did not go away and the campaign to get a railroad to Tampa picked up momentum as time passed.

One of the major problems facing the railroad was in its method of financing its construction. The State, through the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund, had agreed to underwrite the construction by the issuance of a series of bonds which could be sold by the railroad or exchanged for other acceptable bonds. The company, in order to receive this payment, had to construct a specified number of miles of railroad before the Trustees would allow the issuance of more bonds to back the building of more of the line. This construction would have to be inspected by the State Engineer who, in turn, would certify to the Trustees that the construction was up to specifications, enough iron was on hand to build more of the road, land had been cleared and the right-of-way graded and drained. Once the Trustees received the engineer's certification, the governor, acting as the chief executive officer of the Trustees would, along with the State Treasurer, sign the bonds and release the funds for further work. The Florida Railroad, also had engaged in the sale of bonds prior to the revamped State structure. As the railroad progressed, these earlier bonds came due and put extra pressure on the railroad to find other funding or force the Trustees to issue more bonds at a faster rate by constructing more line. For Perry, and other critics of the line, this arrangement looked as if the railroad was building its line and paying off its earlier debt with State funds, while not meeting the specifications for construction and holding local communities and counties hostage, by requiring subscriptions, before the line would be built in those areas.

Even prior to Perry's rise to the governor's office, Yulee and the railroad had problems getting the Trustees to get the bonds issued and the funds allotted. Writing in July of 1856, Yulee notified Governor Broome that some of the earlier bonds were due and that

the railroad's credit was endangered by the slow response coming from Tallahassee. The success of the work was dependent upon the timely paying of the debts and, he insisted: "... the less the companies lose upon these bonds, the better is the fund secured against loss." This implies that some companies had already lost money on the venture and were looking to Yulee to help cut their losses. In this same letter, the Senator complained about the unequal treatment his rail road received from the Trustees as compared with the Tallahassee Railroad Company, who also had bonds under written by the Trustees, a point he had made earlier that year in another letter.⁴⁴ One of the main causes of these requests and letters was the relatively high price paid for the construction of the bridge across the Nassua River, which cost the company nearly \$100,000. The contracting company for this construction was that of Joseph Finegan, a major investor in the Florida Railroad Company and, later, a member of the Board of Directors.⁴⁵ These high costs and the problems of getting iron and cross-ties on time, plagued the early construction of the railroad.

Perry, was mild in his inaugural address to the State, noting the "gratifying" progress of the railroads in general. However, he did give a carefully worded warning to his fellow citizens declaring that they must take, "constant care to have the trust faithfully executed for the benefit of the system and the advancement of the interest of the State." Perry had obviously sent signals to the parties concerned that he would be scrupulous in carrying out his duties, as he perceived them, as governor, especially regarding the paying of the interest on the bonds issued by the Florida Railroad Company. In February of 1857, David S. Walker wrote to Yulee that the State did have the funds on hand to pay the interest on

the Florida Railroad bonds, including a personal note for \$3,000 given by Walker himself. Walker further noted to the Senator that Perry had, "manifested the proper interest" in this issue, and had sent Henry Wells to Washington D.C. to help the State collect funds due the State from the Federal government.⁴⁶ Perry was becoming suspicious of the financing of the railroad and in his message to the General Assembly, in early 1858, he noted that there was some evidence of improper certification of the railroad's construction and progress by the State engineer, Francis L. Dancy. He further attacked the railroad for failing to build the road according to its new charter by not beginning the construction of the section of road from Bellamy Station (Waldo) to Tampa Bay. The governor went so far as to threaten the chartering of another railroad to build this route if the present one would not live up to its legal and moral obligation. In his final sniping at the railroad, he questioned the ability of the harbor at Cedar Key to handle ships of ocean-going proportions, noting the significant lack of depth of the main channel, which admitted vessels drawing only ten feet of water at low tide, two and a half feet too shallow for the average ocean-going vessel of the day.⁴⁷ These damning statements fed the political fire of the day and brought into question the relationship between government officials and the railroad.

The problems with the harbor at Cedar Key had been recognized by most for a long time prior to Perry's 1858 address, and his threat of another line being chartered was to be expected, however, the charge that the State engineer had fraudulently certified statements with the aim of aiding the owners of the railroad was to bring the problem of influence into the open air of public scrutiny. Francis L. Dancy was not only the State engineer, but had, in March of 1857,

sought and received Perry's endorsement for the position of Surveyor General of Florida.⁴⁸ He was also the chairman of the Democratic party in St. Johns County and was a very capable politician. Dancy's vast experience as a surveyor and engineer in the U. S. Army, had helped him to win a large following in St. Augustine and earn enough money to purchase an attractive piece of land along the St. Johns River, north of Palatka, which became one of the show-places of the state in the post-war era. This attack on his reputation and honor, like the Congressional investigation into his construction of the sea wall in St. Augustine, was one of the low points in his life. The fact that he had materially assisted the railroad company, as part of his State engineer's post, prior to these charges also was played against him, even though he conceived it, correctly, as part of his duties.

When Yulee received wind of the charges against Dancy, he immediately wrote to the Trustees asking for evidence of such charges. On February 19, 1858, he stated:

Although I was not at the time in Florida, I venture assurances to the Board that the Certificate had a substantial foundation, and that no improper purpose entered into any act connected with the transaction. The sufficient proof of this is to be found in the fact that the iron for which the bonds were issued was in the State & had been actually laid upon the road to which the Certificate related, or if not laid entirely, only not so, because the chains were exhausted before quite reaching the 80 mile station, a contingency I am lead to anticipate from my last advices.⁴⁹

Yulee had not yet been in contact with Finegan and learned the next day, after writing the Trustees, that his suppositions were not correct. Finegan notified Yulee that:

The thirty additional miles for which the Certificate was given, if not Entirely completed, was so near that it was considered with the force then Employed on the road; that it would be Entirely so before the bonds could be issued by the Trustees. The Bonds were needed to deposite for Iron to go on rapidly with track laying, which Enabled the road during the crisis to keep up the prestige of success it had Established in the public mind. Mr. Dancy was Exceedingly rigid as he has always been, in his Examination of the work and he felt assured from the large force Employed that if there was any inconsiderable portion of the thirty miles not then completed, that it would be Entirely finished before the Certificate could be presented to the Trustees.⁵⁰

Yulee attempted to regroup immediately and fired off a letter to the Trustees which put a new twist on the story. Acknowledging the letter from Finegan, Yulee reported:

I infer from what he says that in the first shock of the great financial storm which had been gathering all last summer and burst into fury on the ___ day of ___, the exigency of the times required rapid movements in financial arrangements to sustain the works and prevent their suspension, and that in as much as the trustees were sometimes absent from the seat of government so that

considerable delay might be expected in obtaining signatures, the certifying officer *may* have certified with reference to what would be on the reasonably certain state of the work when the certificate would be acted upon. This is a *possible* state of the case.⁵¹

This was a notable hedging on the part of the president of the railroad, who was, at that moment, experiencing agony over the problems of the bond sales which had been severely prejudiced by Perry's refusal to sign these instruments.⁵²

By mid-April, Dancy had yet to be informed of Perry's charges, presumably because he was in the field inspecting the work of his deputy surveyors.⁵³ Yulee personally felt that his associate and ally would be vindicated and wrote to the Trustees stating such.⁵⁴

On May 1, 1858, Dancy wrote to the Trustees in answer to these serious charges.

The rumor has reached me as to the effect, "That when upon the 18th August 1857, I certified that the Florida Rail Road had been continuously graded thirty miles of their track from the 50 to the 80 mile post, and delivered crossties for the Same. I granted a false and fraudulent certificate, and combined with that company to defraud the Internal Improvement Fund." ... I do not feel myself guilty of any such offences, and am very willing that the entire facts of the case Should be made public, and to abide by the verdict which you or the public at large may pass upon my conduct. ... This certificate was necessary in order to procure the guarantee of the

Internal Improvement fund upon certain bonds of the company to be Issued for the purchase of the Iron to be laid that thirty miles and according to my construction of the Law, meant neither more or less that the work was so far progressed upon that section that the Bonds could with propriety be issued, and that the fund would not be called upon to pay interest upon bonds issued in payment for iron which there was no road prepared to receive it. At the exact date of my certificate there was perhaps as much as five miles out of the whole thirty which was not exactly in a condition to receive the Iron, but there was at the time upon these places a very large force, which could not fail to do so within a month, and certainly before it was possible for the track laying force to reach the spot where the grade was defective. ...⁵⁵

Dancy further explained that he did not consider it a fraud on the Trustees to certify the work prior to its actual completion because other parts of the construction, such as placing the culverts or other structures, usually takes place after the line has past them. He did not think that the *literal* letter of the law could have been seriously followed without harming the interests of the State, Trustees and the company. Perry, in his criticism of Dancy and the company, relied heavily upon the reports of engineer John Bradford, who investigated the construction of the railroad for the Trustees.

Bradford's report of June 1, 1858, in the midst of the controversy, found that although Dancy had certified the thirty mile stretch of the road, in actuality, "... five (5) miles and twelve-hundred-and-six (1206) feet (5 1/4 miles nearly) to be laid." The job,

as certified by Dancy, had as yet to be completed. Additionally he found that the expense of the bridge crossing the Nassau River, and the bonds issued as a result, \$100,000 of them, had not been nearly as expensive to build. His description was: "The trestle across Amelia Marsh is a very simple and cheap structure and has not the strength which it should have, ..." He estimated that the entire number of bridges, constructed so inexpensively, could have been built for \$50,000, or half of the cost of the one bridge.⁵⁶ Yulee responded in typical fashion and attacked Bradford's report as interpreting too much into the literal meaning of the law verses the actual spirit of it.⁵⁷ Yulee also wrote to the Trustees with an attached letter from Captain M. L. Smith which reads very curiously.

In reply to Mr. Bradford's expressed confidence that all the structures for the first 50 miles could have been built for 50,000 dollars, I will merely state that the money actually paid out by the Contractors for structures to cross the Amelia River and marsh and the head waters of Nassau River in order to get to the west of that stream, a distance of less than thirty miles, exceeds by many thousands the amount stated.⁵⁸

The letter leaves begging the question as to how close to \$100,000 did those works actually cost? What ever the actual costs of the bridges and method of certification by Dancy, the whole affair cast many doubts upon the operation of the railroad and gave Perry, and his many supporters, ammunition in their fight against the railroad's directors, especially David L. Yulee.

The newspapers of the State had their own personal wars concerning this controversy, and the organs of both sides took their shots.

This was especially true after Perry blasted the railroad in his address to the Trustees in June of 1859. In this controversial message, Perry stated that he believed that the Florida Railroad was operating in semi-secrecy, that the company had been selling bonds and stock certificates prior to receiving full title to the lands they were supposed to be selling along the route (mostly to pay off the initial bond holders) and, Perry stated that the State paid the company a full one-hundred dollars for its shares of company stock and received few returns, whereas the other holders of company stocks and bonds received nearly thirty-four dollars profit per share.⁵⁹ Perry, as he stated his duty, was acting as the guardian of the State's interest as its elected first officer. He also reminded everyone: "Railroads are useful, but State credit is a pearl above all price. It is easily tarnished and to be kept without blemish, should be carefully guarded."⁶⁰

Of course, this broadside did not go unanswered by those favoring the railroad, including its recongnized organ, the Fernandina *East Floridian*, which stated: "We honestly believe, that a bad man has accidentally obtained the position of our Chief Magistrate. We believe that in the position he occupies, he is doing much damage and will do more, unless exposed; which we think we are able to do."⁶¹ The paper went on to accuse Perry, himself, of signing diverse bonds for the Florida Atlantic and Gulf Railroad before the arrival of an engineer's certificate, which violated sections 7 and 8 of the Internal Improvement Act. It also took the governor to task for misrepresenting the statements of George W. Call concerning the amount of return on shares of stock. The thirty-four dollar per share of stock figure, it argued, was not even alluded to in Mr. Call's statements.⁶² The remainder of the press that supported the Florida Railroad, and this includes much of

the official Democratic Party press in the State, echoed these sentiments. The whole affair was sordid and brought no glory to either side.

However, one "benefit" from the controversy did come out of the smoke, that was the chartering and founding of the Florida Peninsular Railroad. The citizens of Tampa, Ocala and Micanopy became tired of waiting for the Florida Railroad to fulfill what it presumed were promises made to the inhabitants of those towns. In 1858, the movement began to get the results desired. In the attacks on the Florida Railroad, many of the authors of the missives proposed taking matters into their own hands and promoting a railroad from the junction point to Tampa Bay. Under the leadership of William B. Hooker, James McKay, Simon Turman and many others, the Tampa Bay contingent tried to rally local support for the proposed road. In late March of 1858, a meeting was to be held in Micanopy, under the sponsorship of George Leitner, however, the meeting was transferred to Ocala, where the Tampa delegates caught up with the directors of the "Alachua & Ocala Railroad Company." the meeting soon became seed-bed for the Peninsular Railroad, with each delegate pledging to purchase shares at \$100 each. As reported: "The undersigned do hereby agree to take a number of shares of \$100 each set opposite our names, respectively, for the purpose of constructing a Rail-Road from a suitable point of divergence for the Cedar Keys branch, via Micanopy and Ocala to Tampa." The Idea was, originally to become coequal shareholders with the Florida Railroad and have that company do the work, expending all funds subscribed on the Tampa route, however, If the Florida Railroad should refuse to go along with this plan, a separate road would be constructed using the funds subscribed as the base capital.⁶³ On June 19,

1858, the *Florida Peninsular*, reported the founding of the Florida Peninsula Railroad. As the announcement read:

We are happy to be able to announce the fact, that a company under the above name, was organized in our town on the 17th inst., by the citizens of our county sided by a delegation from Micanopy, consisting of Dr. Geo. B. Payne and Col. George Leitner. ... At a subsequent meeting of the Directors, Dr. S. B. Todd, was elected President of the Company, and Col. O. B. Hart, Secretary. From the President we learn that liberal cash subscriptions have already been obtained. This movement is the very thing we needed, and we hardly rejoice in it. ... It must and will succeed, and is highly favored by our sterling patriot, Gov. Perry, whose suggestion we desire to carry out, if the people interested will but do their duty.⁶⁴

This was not exactly what the principle officers of the Florida Railroad hoped for or expected. Indeed, on February 4, 1858, Finegan had written to Yulee advising a go-slow mode in negotiating with Perry concerning the signing of the bonds. "I would not write to Govr. Perry," he counselled, "until we see what we can do with our negotiations. He seems determined on an issue with us. The Ocala Movement will relieve us very much."⁶⁵ The following day, Yulee wrote to R. S. Stoughton of Micanopy, that he had heard that the citizens there had subscribed enough to build the road to that destination, but that others had informed him that this was not so. Yulee warned Mr. Stoughton that the stockholders of his railroad were not inclined toward Micanopy and that any balking at subscriptions would endanger their hopes of

getting the road to that town.⁶⁶ This approach appears to have caused many in Micanopy to look towards their colleagues in Tampa for assistance. The final result being the creation of the Peninsular Railroad.

After years of argument, postponements and stalls, the citizens of Tampa could look forward to having a railroad reach them. However, because of circumstances beyond anyone's control, this dream was not to happen. By the time actual surveys of the route began and more money was raised, the national crisis was upon them and the road was not constructed. Yulee, even with Governor Perry's active resistance, did get his railroad built, to Cedar Key, but only had one short year of profitable operation before the War Between the States eliminated his enterprise. The bonds issued, and reluctantly signed by Governor Perry, became the anchor around the neck for Florida's development after the war, when Francis Vose, a New York bond broker of the House of Vose and Livingston, who had invested in the Florida Railroad prior to the war, and purchased many outstanding bonds immediately after it, at pennies on the dollar, sued the Trustees and effectively halted railroad construction until the famed Disston Purchase balled the Trustees out of bankruptcy. Thus, it would appear, that in the end, no one won in the conflict between Yulee and Perry, least of all Tampa Bay.

ENDNOTES

¹ "The Perrys of South Carolina and Florida." Typescript. Page 124. The author would like to thank Ms. Alyce Tincher and Ms. Faye Perry Melton for their assistance in obtaining this source.

² Rebecca Starr. "Who Were Those Perrys Anyway?" Unpublished researched presented at the Perry Reunion in 1983. Copy provided to the author, who here wishes to express his deep appreciation, to Mr.

J. C. "Robbie" Robertson, of Gainesville, Florida, who has been associated with the Alachua County Historical Society and the Sons of Confederate Veterans, Madison Starke Perry Camp, for many years.

³ J. Marlon Sims, *The Story of My Life*, 74-78. This portion of Dr. Sims memoir was, again, provided by Mr. J. C. Robertson. I do not, at this time, have the date or place of publication of the memlor.

⁴ Donald J. Ivey, "Chronology of the Life and Career of Madison Starke Perry, Fourth Governor of the State of Florida, 1814-1865." 1. Student Paper used with the author's kind permission. Mr. Ivey readily recognizes the limitations of his work and plans to expand the research at a later date. However, after a computer search of the Library of Congress holdings and those of the University Microfilms catalogue, his paper is the only citation to appear, which makes this brief chronology all the more important to researchers. His bibliography is very clear and complete given the paucity of source material available.

⁵ "Roll of Students of South Carolina College: 1805-1905," Columbia, South Carolina, 1906, 14. Madison Starke Perry, of Lancaster, County, appears as a sophomore in the class of 1831, but no further notice of him is given.

⁶ Ivey. 1-2.

⁷ *1850 Florida Census: Alachua County*. (Jacksonville, 1973), 11, 26, 34. Caution should be used with these printed sources, in this case, Perry is referenced as "Madison L. Perry." Transcription is always less desirable than the actual document, except when the latter is unreadable.

⁸ Ivey, 5. Ivey has distilled these figures from the actual census rolls microfilmed at the National Archives and not from a transcribed version.

⁹ See, Herbert J. Doherty Jr. *Richard Keith Call.-Southern Unionist*. (Gainesville, 1961), 1464-47, and Jerrell H. Shofner. *Daniel Ladd.-Merchant Prince of Frontier Florida*. (Gainesville, 1978), 118-120. For a basic understanding of the principles of Calhoun, see Richard N. Current's *John C. Calhoun* (New York, 1963).

¹⁰ Journal of the Proceedings of the Senate of the General Assembly of the State of Florida at Its Fifth Session (Tallahassee, 1850), 62-63.

¹¹ Ibid., 189-91.

¹² Ibid., 212.

¹³ Ibid., 145-46.

¹⁴ Ibid., 145-46, 207.

¹⁵ See, *Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of Florida Passed at Its Fifth Session* (Tallahassee, 1851), Chapters 352, 353, 354, and 355.

¹⁶ Ivey, 2.

¹⁷ *Journal of the Proceedings of the Senate of the General Assembly of the State of Florida at Its Adjourned Session, 1855* (Tallahassee, 1855), 5.

¹⁸ See, *Laws of Florida*, Chapter 614 (No. 5). (Tallahassee, 1855), 31-32. Also see, Joe Knetsch, "Orange Lake: Enchantment, Development, and Near Demise." Marlon County Historical Society, May 20, 1989, 6-7. (Unpublished) Copies of this paper are at the P.K. Yonge Library at the University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, the Marlon County Historical Society's holdings in Ocala or the State Library of Florida, Tallahassee, Florida.

¹⁹ See, Joe Knetsch, "The Palatka and Micanopy Plank Road Company." Micanopy Historical Society, January 14, 1995. (Unpublished) Copies can be seen at the Micanopy Historical Society's Archives, P.K. Yonge Library at the University of Florida and the State Library of Florida, Tallahassee, Florida.

²⁰ See, *Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of Florida Passed at Its Adjourned Session, 1855*. Chapter 734 [No. 125]. (Tallahassee, 1855), 26-27.

²¹ See, *Journal of the Proceedings of the Senate of the General Assembly of the State of Florida at Its Adjourned Session* (Tallahassee, 1855). A general reading of the bills proposed and the voting on them is recorded here.

²² Ibid., 131 and 143.

²³ See, *Journal of the Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the General Assembly of Florida at Its Ninth Session* (Tallahassee, 1858), 31-33. Perry noted in his State of the State address, that he had good cooperation from both governors of Georgia with whom he had corresponded and expensive

litigation had been precluded. The final legal suit was instigated after the War Between the States.

²⁴ *Journal of the Proceedings of the Senate of the General Assembly of the State of Florida at Its Adjourned Session* (Tallahassee, 1855), 80.

²⁵ See, *Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of Florida Passed at Its Adjourned Session* (Tallahassee, 1855), Resolutions 12 and 13.

²⁶ *Tallahassee Floridian & Journal*, April 26, 1856. 1-3.

²⁷ Ibid., June 7, 1856. 2.

²⁸ Ibid., July 19, 1856. 1.

²⁹ Ibid., August 16, 1856. 2.

³⁰ Ibid., August 2, 1856. 2. This is too limited a sample of the newspapers of the day, however, it accurately reflects the feeling of most of the Democratic papers in the State. As the overwhelming number of newspapers in Florida were Democratic organs, the mood of their readers is well represented here.

³¹ *Tallahassee Floridian & Journal*, October 25, 1856. 2.

³² Ibid., July 25, 1857. 1.

³³ For a more complete discussion of this problem, see, Joe Knetsch, "The Day the Railroad Didn't Come to Micanopy," Micanopy Historical Society, Micanopy, Florida, March 9, 1996. Copies of this paper, unpublished at this date, are on file at the Micanopy Historical Society Archive, P. K. Yonge Library at the University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, the State Library of Florida, in Tallahassee, Florida, and at the Matheson Historical Museum, Gainesville, Florida.

³⁴ Papers of David Levy Yulee, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, 149-B, Boxes 4, 5, and 6, Reel Number 2. Letter of August 11, 1856, Hereafter, Yulee Papers.

³⁵ Yulee Papers, Reel Number 2, Letter of August 21, 1856, Perry to Finegan.

³⁶ Yulee Papers, Reel Number 2, Letter of December 9, 1856, Perry to Yulee.

³⁷ Miscellaneous Letters to Surveyor General. Volume 2, 1849-1856, 1185. Land Records and Title Section, Division of State Lands, Florida Department of Environmental Protection, Tallahassee, Florida. Letter of August 22, 1849, Yulee to Benjamin Putnam.

³⁸ See, Joe Knetsch, "The Day the Railroad Didn't Come to Micanopy," Micanopy Historical Society, March 9, 1996. (Unpublished) Copies of this paper are on file at the P. K. Yonge Library at the University of Florida, the University of South Florida (Special Collections), the Micanopy Historical Society, the Matheson House Museum in Gainesville, Florida, and the State Library of Florida, (Florida Room) Tallahassee, Florida.

³⁹ Tampa *Florida Peninsular*, June 19, 1859. This edition contains six letters in this correspondence and each deserves careful reading. If Carter was misled, as it appears from this limited correspondence, it was done with intention.

⁴⁰ "Florida Railroad: Applications for Engineers..." Old File Box, Land Records and Title Section, Division of State Lands, Florida Department of Environmental Protection, Tallahassee, Florida. Letter of March 6, 1855, Yulee to Broome. Hereafter, Florida Railroad Papers, DEP, date of letter and correspondents.

⁴¹ Florida Railroad Papers, DEP, Letter of December 6, 1856, Yulee to Trustees.

⁴² Yulee Papers, Reel Number 2, Undated draft of letter. It is unclear whether or not this letter was actually sent. The file has only the draft.

⁴³ Yulee Papers, Reel Number 2, Letter of May 2, 1855, Yulee to Finegan.

⁴⁴ Florida Railroad Papers, DEP, Letter of July 22, 1856, Yulee to Broome. Also, see letter of March 28, 1856, Yulee to Broome.

⁴⁵ See, Florida Railroad Papers, DEP, Letter of January 15, 1856, George W Call to Broome, Call was the Secretary of the Railroad Company.

⁴⁶ Yulee Papers, Reel Number 2, Letter of February 17, 1857, Walker to Yulee. Henry Wells is little known outside of surveying circles. He was a U. S. Deputy Surveyor in Florida and came with the recommendations of almost the entire legislative delegation from Florida. Along with Arthur M.

Randolph, he was the first selection agent for the Swamp and Overflowed Lands in Florida. His reputation as a surveyor is very good.

⁴⁷ *Journal of the Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the General Assembly of the State of Florida at its Ninth Session* (Tallahassee, 1858), 1 t21.

⁴⁸ Yulee Papers, Reel Number 2, Letter of March 31, 1857, Perry to Dancy. The two men had met in Alligator [Lake City] and discussed his appointment to the Surveyor General's post. Perry made only one stipulation, he would support Dancy only if "Mr. E." declined to take the post. Mr. E was George Fairbanks, a member of the Board of Directors of the Florida Railroad Company and one of the political leaders of East Florida.

⁴⁹ Florida Railroad Papers, DEP, Letter of February 19, 1858, Yulee to the Trustees.

⁵⁰ Florida Railroad Papers, DEP, Letter of February 21, 1858, Finegan to Yulee.

⁵¹ Florida Railroad Papers, DEP, Letter of February 20, 1858, Yulee to Trustees.

⁵² See, Florida Railroad Papers, DEII, Letter of March 21, 1858. Finegan to Yulee. This letter clearly explains the difficulty Finegan had in getting investors to purchase the road's bonds because of the problems raised by Perry's actions. The questioning by the governor meant, to potential purchasers, that the railroad charter may be in danger. Therefore, these potential buyers of bonds were very reluctant to enter into the venture. Finegan was working in Charleston, South Carolina at the time, but his fears were probably justified in New York and elsewhere. This was toward the middle of the so-called "Panic of 1857".

⁵³ Florida Railroad Papers, DEP, Letter of April 6, 1858, Yulee to M. D. Papy, State Treasurer and a member of the Trustees.

⁵⁴ Florida Railroad Papers, DEP, Letter of April 14, 1858, Yulee to Papy.

⁵⁵ Florida Railroad Papers, DEII, Letter of May 1, 1858, Dancy to Trustees.

⁵⁶ Florida Railroad Papers, DEP, Letter/report of June 1, 1858, Bradford to the Trustees. Bradford also reported shoddy work on many levels of the

construction, including culverts, drainage and embankments.

⁵⁷ Florida Railroad Papers, DEP, Letter of July 27, 1858, Yulee to Trustees. This response reads like a lawyer's brief and has the feel of cross-examination.

⁵⁸ Florida Railroad Papers, DEP, Letter of July 20, 1858, Smith to Yulee. Attached to letter of Yulee to Papy.

⁵⁹ Tampa *Florida Peninsular*, June 18, 1859. The front page is dedicated to Perry's address.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Fernandina *East Floridian*. August 18, 1859. The author would like to thank Kyle VanLandingham for providing him with good copies of this hard to find paper.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Tampa *Florida Peninsular*, March 20, 1858.

⁶⁴ Ibid., June 19, 1858.

⁶⁵ Yulee Papers, Reel Number 2, Letter of February 4, 1858, Finegan to Yulee.

⁶⁶ Yulee Papers, Reel Number 2, Letter of February 5, 1858, Yulee to R. S. Stoughton.